

Aphorisms

Relating to the

KINGDOM

O F

IRELAND.

Humbly submitted to

The Most Noble Assembly

O F

LORDS & COMMONS

At the Great

CONVENTION

A T

WESTMINSTER.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Joseph Watts, at the Angel in
S. Pauls Church-Yard. 1689.

Appointed

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Aphorisms, &c.

I. **T**hat *Ireland is part of the Dominions of England, and a Kingdom subordinate to it.*—This appears not only by the Appeals that are made from the *Chancery* there, to the *House of Lords* here, and by *Writ of Error* from the *Kings Bench* there, to the *Kings Bench* here; but also by the *Patents* which often pass under the *Great Seal of England*, for *Lands, Honours and Offices in Ireland*, and by the *Obligation* which an *English Act of Parliament* lays on *Ireland*, when it is particularly named.

II. That *the Crown of England hath good Title to Ireland.*—Not only by *Descent from Eva, Daughter of Dermond Mac Morough, King of Leinster*, whose *Ancestors* were *Monarchs of Ireland*; but also by *lawful Conquest in a just War*, and by the repeated *Oaths and voluntary Submissions of the Irish Potentates and Gentry in all Ages*, and by several *Statutes of Recognition, and Acts of Parliament in that Kingdom*, and by above *Five Hundred Years Prescription*.

III. That *Whoever hath the Crown of England, is ipso facto Sovereign of Ireland; and to levy War against such Person, is Treason.*—This is the natural Result of the first Assertion; and besides what may be collected from the Statute of 11 Hen. 7. of paying *Obedience to the King for the time being*; it was so at Common Law, and cannot be otherwise in Reason; for there is that *correlation between Protection and Allegiance*, that they must stand and fall together, and there is no difference in this case, between *Ireland and the Isle of Wight*, or any other part of the *Dominions of the Crown of England*.

IV. That *the Lords and Commons of England have always been zealously concerned for, and liberally contributed to the Preservation of Ireland.*—This appears by the many *Subsidies and other Aids* they have in all Ages given towards the support of that Kingdom; for

Ireland was always a Charge to *England*, until the *Act of Settlement* was made. It cost this Kingdom near 300000 *L.* per annum for some years in *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, and the Rebellion in 1641. drain'd *England* of some Millions of Money, and of many Thousands of Men, and yet all this was well spent, because,

V. *Without the Subjection of Ireland, England cannot flourish, and perhaps not subsist.*—For every Harbor in *Munster* would be more prejudicial to the Trade of *England*, than either *Sally* or *Algiers* ever was, that Island being so scituate, that *England* cannot trade with *Spain*, the *Levant*, *Africa*, the *East Indies* or the *West*, without sailing almost in view of the old Head of *Kingsale*, so that *England* must traffick at vast disadvantage,, hazard, and charge in Armed and double Man'd Vessels, or with great Convoys. Add to this, that *Ireland* would be always in close League with the Enemies of *England*, and yearly supply a vast number of able Bodies to annoy it:

VI. *That Ireland was never in so much danger as it is now;*—For the Confederacy was never so general before, the *Irish* never had such quantities of Arms and Ammunition, they never had the City of *Dublin*, they never had the whole Kingdom in their possession, or under their Power; and which is more than all the rest, they never had the colour or pretence of Authority before this time.

VII. *That the Protestants there, unless speedily relieved, must necessarily be ruin'd.*—For the *Irish* having no Money, cannot support their vast Army, without Free Quarter on the *English*. Add to this, the decay and full stop of Trade, and the many other insupportable Difficulties they labour under, and their Ruine will appear inevitable without present Relief.

VIII. *That no People in the World are in so miserable a Condition as the Protestants of Ireland.*—For they are not only insulted over by their own Servants; and in a certain way of Beggary, but are also in continual fear, and under imminent danger of being massacred.

IX. *That the English Government has been easy and favourable to the Irish.*—And this evidently appears by own slight Instance, viz. That the Grand Jury and the whole County of *Cork* had more Trouble and Charge to get rid of two *Irish* Attorneys in the Sheriffs Court, and at last could not effect it, than the *Irish* have had to turn out most of the Civil and Military Protestant Officers in

in that Kingdom, though some of them had good Patents for their Places; and it is beyond dispute, that for many years past; the *Irish* never wanted such Friends at *Whitehall*, as made their Affairs run glib in all Courts of Judicature, and elsewhere.

X. That nevertheless many of the *Irish* and some degenerate *English* would rather live under any Government than that of *England*.—And this happens partly from the difference of Humors, Manners and Customs between them and us, and partly because they look upon the first Conquest of *Ireland*; and the subsequent Confiscations to be injurious, and think a Foreigner would restore them; but chiefly this Aversion is to be attributed to the difference in Religion, they conceiving us to be obstinate incorrigible Hereticks, and therefore they have often invited the *Pope*, *French* and *Spaniard* to accept of the Government of that Kingdom.

XI. That Ten Thousand *English* well furnished and conducted, never were, nor never can be beaten by the *Irish* in that Kingdom.—The first Assertion is true; and the second is rational; for allowing the *Irish* Gentry to be brave enough, yet the Commoners have not Courage or Skill equal to the *English*, or near it; nor can the *Irish* keep more than ten or twelve Thousand Men together any long time; for want of Forage and other Necessaries.

XII. However, less than fifteen, or perhaps twenty Thousand Men ought not now to attempt *Ireland*;—because it will be necessary to make Descents in several Places; and when Garrisons, and other necessary Detachments are deducted, there will remain above Ten or Twelve Thousand for the Field.

XIII. If these twenty Thousand were divided into three Bodies, in all probability there would be none, or very weak and short Resistance.—For if Four Thousand landed in *Ulster*, six Thousand in *Manster*, and ten Thousand in the Heart of the Kingdom, the *Irish* would be distracted, and not know where to turn; for they have neither Officers nor Souldiers capable to make three distinct Armies; Experience will manifest, that in that case, finding themselves attack'd on all sides, *Tyrconnel* would retire to *Athlone*, and thence to *Galway*, and in the first Ship he could get, shift for himself as well as he could.

XIV. However reasonable Conditions should not be denied them, if they will submit quietly.—For besides, that it may prevent much Mischief, and save the effusion of Christian Blood, it is unchristian to force them to Desperation; they should have Indemnity

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for what is past, and a Connivance at the private Exercise of their Religion, by a competent number of Priests for the future: This Offer justifies our Moderation, and if refus'd, leaves them without excuse.

XV. *Whatever Conditions are offered them, will be rejected or postponed unless backt with a sufficient force.*—For they are in hopes of Aid from France, and have very little foresight of what is future; it is not unusual among them, to desire one day what they tremble at the next: It has been always a principal Maxim in their Politics, to procrastinate and delay their Submission, in hopes of imaginary Succors, until they plung'd themselves sometimes into a Sea of Misery, and it looks as if their Destiny inclines that way now.

XVI. *That the Irish Estates are sufficient to defray the Charge of reducing them to their Duty.*—For of ten millions of plantation-Acres of Land, which there are in Ireland, the Irish have a fourth part, which to be purchased, is worth three millions of Pounds.

XVII. *That the Protestants are already dammish'd to that Value, and in three Months more will suffer as much again.*—For besides the interruption in Trade and Business, bad Debts, and the particular Wrongs and Injuries done them, the Losses of those that were forced to fly to England and elsewhere, the very Land is one third part lessened in the yearly value; and the two thirds remaining, is not worth so many Years Purchase by a third part, as it was anno 1684. For example, three hundred Pound per annum, at twelve Years Purchase, being three thousand six hundred pound, is now but two hundred Pound, at eight Years Purchase, which is one thousand six hundred Pound.

XVIII. *The Protestants of Ireland had been eternally raised, if it were not for the Glorious Achievements of the Prince of Orange.*—For if they are in so ill Condition at this Day, in what Case would they have been, if France had leisure and means to assist the Irish, and England (in a Civil War) not able to relieve the Protestants there.

XIX. *The Policy and true Scheme of Government was totally overturned in Ireland.*—For where Reason, and the Interest of England required, That the English Colony should be protected by an English Army; and whereas a Protestant Parliament in Ireland had raised a great Revenue to the Crown, mostly paid by Protestants, in order to maintain a Protestant Army, On the quite

quite contrary, That Army was disbanded, with Circumstances as bad as the Fact, and Papists introduced to guard us against themselves; and Irish brought to garrison within those Walls that were purposely built to keep them out.

XX. *The Law was likewise subverted.*—For the Force and Energy of the Law being resolved into Trials by Jury: When the Judge, Sheriff, Jury, Witness and Party were all of a Piece, and that in a Country where Perjury is so frequent, that *Irish Evidence* is become, proverbially Scandalous, what could an English Protestant expect, but that many notorious Murders should pass unpunished, many forg'd Deeds should be trump't up, and many hundreds of English Indicted, drawn in Question, and prosecuted without so much as a Probability or Colour of Truth.

XXI. *These Injuries would have been perpetuated and legitimated, and our Religion and Nation destroyed thereby by Law.*—For they dissolv'd all Corporations; on forged or frivolous Pretences, and in so precipitate a manner, that they did not give competent Time to draw, much less to review the Pleadings. They projected to call the eldest Sons of Popish Noblemen by writ, and so made themselves sure of both Houses of an Irish Parliament.

XXII. *That the disbanded Protestant Officers deserve, and are fit to be employed in the Recovery of Ireland*—They deserve it, and all the Countenance that can be shewn them, because they have suffered much (and few People consider how much) merely for their Religion and Country. And they are fit, because they are acquainted with the Country, the Climate and the Inhabitants, and are beyond objection Zealous in this Cause.

XXIII. *That the Prince wants neither Courage, Conduct, Reputation or Zeal.*—His Attempt in England manifested his Courage, his Success demonstrated his Conduct, and confirmed his Reputation; and for the rest, the same Motives that induced him to come hither, are still in being, and will prevail to advance his Victorious Arms to Ireland.

XXIV. *There is nothing wanting but a settled Legal Authority and Money.*—For though Necessity justifies *pro hac vice*, yet our Law knows no Authority but what is Regal; without that there can be no Parliament, nor indeed no Obligation to Obedience (or at most but temporary). And as for Money, though it is impossible to make a general Tax seasonably for the Relief of Ireland,

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yet perhaps a good Vote of espousing the Irish concern, may give credit to raise a Fund, for a Service so necessary and beneficial to England.

XXV. *The Army will be in more danger of Famine than Sword.*—For besides that the Enemy will destroy and burn all he can, there is not in the Country Provision enough for both Armies, and therefore great Magazines must be erected at *Chester, Bristol, Milford, &c.* how much Money soever it may cost.

XXVI. *All private Undertakings, in this matter of Ireland, are vain.*—For no one Body is able to do much, and Confederacies and Partnerships are lame and uncertain, because the Failure of any one spoils all. Nor did any private Undertaker of public Affairs, ever succeed in Ireland; witness Sir Thomas Smith's Project in the *Ardes*, and *Walter Earl of Essex* his in *Clandeboy* and the *Ferry*.

XXVII. *That whoever takes Commission here to raise Men in Ireland, does that Country a great deal of wrong.*—For either he takes some poor dispirited People, or such Farmers, Labourers or Tradesmen, as would be more useful in their Vocation: Or he takes others that would of their own accord, and without Pay in the Militia, or otherwise fight for their Lives, Families and Estates; every way he robs the Country of People, he hinders those that else would be raised here, and go from hence; and he makes the Government depend on a broken Reed, for it is impossible any Men should be raised and accoutred there time enough to do Service, and fit to do it.

Lastly. *Though the Irish should submit, yet Ireland will need a considerable English Army.*—For that Kingdom is much depopulated, and there will be Danger of some French Attempt. But besides all this, he knows little of Ireland, who thinks that the Irish Army (when disbanded) will ever be brought to work for their Living. On the contrary, many of them will turn Tories; so that if there be not a good Army in the Kingdom, it will be as Unsafe and Troublesome as in time of War.

F I N I S.